
Notes

INTRODUCTION

1. Even so distinguished an intellectual historian as Andrzej Walicki does this on occasion. On pp. 547-48 of his *Slavophile Controversy* (Oxford, 1975), he writes that Tolstoy's Christian anarchism "was a direct reflection of the social *Weltanschauung* and (partially) of the interests of the exploited and ruined masses of the patriarchal peasantry."

CHAPTER ONE: RUSSIAN SOCIETY ON THE EVE OF EMANCIPATION

1. Alexander Herzen, *Du développement des idées révolutionnaires en Russie* (London, 1853), p. 37.

2. Two accounts of nineteenth-century Russia that employ the term *obshchestvo* are Anthony Graham Netting, *Russian Liberalism: The Years of Promise, 1842-1855* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1967), and Nicholas Riasanovsky, *A Parting of Ways: Government and the Educated Public in Russia, 1801-1855* (Oxford, 1977).

✓ 3. Charles Tilly's *The Vendee* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964) is a classic account of how various, complex, and *local* a peasant counterrevolutionary movement may be.

4. Samuel Collins, *The Present State of Russia* (London, 1671), pp. 52-53.

5. On the idea of the "just Tsar," see V. K. Sokolova, *Russkie istoricheskie predaniia* (Moscow, 1970), pp. 50-96.

6. Daniel Field, *Rebels in the Name of the Tsar* (Boston, 1976), pp. 113-207.

7. Both the quotation and the comment are contained in Teodor Shanin,

The Awkward Class: Political Sociology of Peasantry in a Developing Society: Russia, 1910-1925 (Oxford, 1972), p. 215.

8. For the Razin and Pugachëv cycles, see Sokolova, *Russkie istoricheskie predaniia*, pp. 115-42, and K. V. Chistov, *Russkie narodnye sotsial'no-utopicheskie legendy* (Moscow, 1967), *passim*.

9. For two excellent, brief discussions of the gentry and the peculiarities of its development, see Richard Pipes, *Karamzin's Memoir on Ancient and Modern Russia* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), pp. 8-21; and Daniel Field, *The End of Serfdom: Nobility and Bureaucracy in Russia, 1855-1861* (Cambridge, Mass., 1976), pp. 8-21. Despite the passage of time, the standard work remains A. Romanovich-Slaviatinsky, *Dvorianstvo v Rossii ot nachala XVIII-go veka do otmeny krepostnogo prava* (Kiev, 1912). See also Donald MacKenzie Wallace, *Russia* (New York, 1961), Vintage edition, pp. 99-159, particularly his brilliant portrait of the two "landed proprietors."

10. Estimates vary considerably, depending on how inclusively the "noble estate" is defined. For two considerations of the problem, see Anthony Graham Netting, *Russian Liberalism*, pp. 43-44, and S. Frederick Starr, *Decentralization and Self-Government in Russia, 1830-1870* (Princeton, 1972), p. 8.

11. A. I. Gertsen, "Iur'ev den'! Iur'ev den'! Russkomu dvorianstvu," quoted in Daniel Field, *The End of Serfdom*, p. 12.

12. *My Past and Thoughts: The Memoirs of Alexander Herzen*, Vol. III (New York, 1968), p. 1153.

✓ 13. These figures are taken from Jerome Blum, *Lord and Peasant in Russia from the Ninth to the Nineteenth Centuries* (Princeton, 1961), p. 369.

✓ 14. A good place to begin one's study of the problem is with the collection of essays entitled *The Russian Intelligentsia*, edited by Richard Pipes (New York, 1961).

✓ 15. Benjamin Schwartz, *In Search of Wealth and Power: Yen Fu and the West* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964), p. 243.

✓ 16. The literature on "modernization" is very large. A convenient introduction is C. E. Black, *The Dynamics of Modernization* (New York, 1966). My own brief remarks owe a great deal to Barrington Moore, Jr., *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World* (Boston, 1966). Theodore von Laue, *Why Lenin? Why Stalin? A Reappraisal of the Russian Revolution, 1900-1930* (Philadelphia, 1964), is a provocative application of a modernization model to nineteenth- and twentieth-century Russia. For a valuable critique of the concept of "modernization," see Dean C. Tipps, "Modernization Theory and the Comparative Study of Societies," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 15:2 (March 1973), pp. 199-226.

17. Schwartz, *In Search of Wealth and Power*, pp. 237-38.
18. On the social underpinnings of German conservatism, see Karl Mannheim, "Conservative Thought," in *Essays on Sociology and Social Psychology* (London, 1953).
19. For an interesting, if now slightly dated, discussion of the concept of community and its history, see Robert Nisbet, *The Quest for Community* (New York, 1953). In *The Sociological Tradition* (New York, 1967), Nisbet deals systematically with how the social insights of nineteenth-century European conservatives were taken over and developed by sociologists (Marx, Weber, Durkheim, Tönnies, and so on).
20. Nisbet, *The Quest for Community*, p. 25.
21. Kenneth Keniston, *The Uncommitted: Alienated Youth in American Society* (New York, 1965), pp. 248-49.
22. Quoted in Martin Malia, "Herzen and the Peasant Commune," in Ernest Simmons, ed., *Continuity and Change in Russian and Soviet Thought* (Cambridge, Mass., 1955), pp. 211-12.
23. Quoted in Abbott Gleason, *European and Muscovite: Ivan Kireevsky and the Origins of Slavophilism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972), p. 281.
24. Robert Tucker, *Philosophy and Myth in Karl Marx* (Cambridge, England, 1961), p. 197.
25. Quoted in Colin Legum, "The End of Cloud Cuckoo Land," *The New York Times Magazine*, March 28, 1976, p. 63.
26. For a characteristic statement on the relationship between "overeducation" and underemployment, see Harry J. Benda, "Non-Western Intelligentsia as Political Elites," in John Kautsky, ed., *Political Change in Underdeveloped Countries* (New York and London, 1962), pp. 240-41.
27. For one view of the process, see Marc Raeff, *Origins of the Russian Intelligentsia: The Eighteenth-Century Nobility* (New York, 1966).
28. Martin Malia, *Alexander Herzen and the Birth of Russian Socialism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1961), p. 5 and *passim*.
29. On the origins of the term "intelligentsia," see Allen Pollard, "The Russian Intelligentsia: The Mind of Russia," *California Slavic Studies*, Vol. III (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1964), pp. 1-32.
30. See Martin Malia, *Alexander Herzen*, especially pp. 313-34.
31. See Andrzej Walicki, *The Slavophile Controversy* (Oxford, 1975), especially pp. 168-75. See also Abbott Gleason, *European and Muscovite*, pp. 154-79, 258-94.

CHAPTER TWO: SLAVOPHILES AND POPULISTS

1. Richard Pipes, "Narodnichestvo: A Semantic Inquiry," *Slavic Review* 23:3 (September 1964), pp. 441-58.
2. Pipes, "Narodnichestvo," especially pp. 454-56.
3. See B. P. Koz'min, "Narodnichestvo na burzhuažno-demokraticheskom etape osvoboditel'nogo dvizheniia v Rossii," in his *Iz istorii revoliutsionnoi mysli v Rossii* (Moscow, 1961), pp. 638-727.
4. The best general treatment of the Slavophiles, which also contains excellent pages on their relationship to the Populists, is Andrzej Walicki, *The Slavophile Controversy* (Oxford, 1975).
5. As in my "Solzhenitsyn and the Slavophiles," *The Yale Review* 65:1 (Autumn 1975), pp. 61-70.
6. P. V. Annenkov, *The Extraordinary Decade*, in Arthur Mendel, ed., I. R. Titunik, trans., *Literary Memoirs*, (Ann Arbor, 1968). The passage was written in the 1870s.
7. Iury Samarin, *Sochineniia*, Vol. I (Moscow, 1877), pp. 195-96.
8. This exchange is contained in a fascinating piece by Alexander Gerschenkron, "Franco Venturi on Russian Populism," *American Historical Review* 78:4 (October 1973), especially pp. 972-74.
9. Vissarion Belinsky, "Pis'mo k N. V. Gogoliu, 3 iulia 1847," in *Izbrannye filosofskie sochineniia*, Vol. II (Leningrad, 1948), p. 516.
10. Donald Treadgold, "The Peasant and Religion," in Wayne Vucinich, ed., *The Peasant in Nineteenth-Century Russia* (Stanford, 1968), pp. 78-80.
11. For an introduction to this fascinating subject, see James Billington, *Mikhailovsky and Russian Populism* (Oxford, 1958), pp. 120-28.
12. Mikhail Bakunin, *How the Revolutionary Question Presents Itself*, quoted in Franco Venturi, *Roots of Revolution* (New York, 1960), p. 369.
13. For one such conversion, see Abbott Gleason, "The Emigration and Apostasy of Lev Tikhomirov," *Slavic Review* 26:3 (September 1967), pp. 414-29.
14. See Abbott Gleason, *European and Muscovite: Ivan Kireevsky and the Origins of Slavophilism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972), pp. 154-79.
15. Quoted in Sam Dolgoff, ed., *Bakunin on Anarchy* (New York, 1972), p. 196. See also Herzen's attack on Babeuf's dictatorial propensities in *My Past and Thoughts: The Memoirs of Alexander Herzen*, Vol. III (New York, 1968), pp. 1236-42.
16. *Statism and Anarchy*, in Dolgoff, *Bakunin on Anarchy*, p. 329.
17. For a good, brief discussion of Vorontsov and his book, see Richard Pipes, *Struve: Liberal on the Left, 1870-1905* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970), pp. 40-44; and Arthur Mendel, *Dilemmas of Progress in Tsarist Russia* (Cambridge, Mass., 1961).

18. Richard Pipes, *Struve*, p. 43.
19. Ivan Kireevsky, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, Vol. I (Moscow, 1911), pp. 115-16.
20. Quoted in Venturi, *Roots of Revolution*, p. 659.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 667.
22. See Samuel Baron, *Plekhanov: The Father of Russian Marxism* (Stanford, 1963), pp. 67-68.
23. The phrase is George Lichtheim's. See his *Marxism: An Historical and Critical Study* (New York, 1961), p. 373.
24. Frederick Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (New York, 1942), pp. 155-57.
25. For an introduction to Katkov's development, see M. Katz, *Mikhail N. Katkov: A Political Biography, 1818-1887* (The Hague, 1966).
26. Herzen's early life and intellectual evolution are splendidly set forth in Martin Malia, *Alexander Herzen and the Birth of Russian Socialism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1961).
27. Alexander Herzen, *From the Other Shore and the Russian People and Socialism* (Cleveland and New York, 1963), p. 167.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 175.
29. *Ibid.*
30. *Ibid.*, p. 180.
31. For a study of Russian peasant myths based on precisely this point of view, see V. K. Sokolova's excellent *Russkie istoricheskie predaniia* (Moscow, 1970), especially Chapter 3.
32. Herzen, *From the Other Shore and the Russian People and Socialism*, p. 183.
33. *Ibid.*
34. *Ibid.*, p. 186.
35. *Ibid.*
36. *Ibid.*, p. 187.
37. *Ibid.*, pp. 189-90.
38. *Ibid.*, pp. 198-99.
39. Alexander Herzen, *Sochineniia v deviati tomakh*, Vol. III (Moscow, 1956), p. 585.
40. Alexander Herzen, *Du développement des idées révolutionnaires en Russie* (2d ed.) (London, 1853), p. xi.
41. For some interesting observations on Herzen's attitude toward America, see Marc Vuilleumier, Michel Aucouturier, Sven Stelling-Michaud, and Michel Cabot, *Autour d'Alexandre Herzen* (Geneva, 1973), pp. 309-24, *passim*.
42. Herzen, *Du développement*, pp. xxii-xxiii.
43. See A. S. Khomiakov, "O starom i novom," *Sochineniia*, Vol. III (Moscow, 1900), pp. 11-29.

44. There is no adequate study of Pëtr Kireevsky. Much can be learned from A. D. Soimonov, *P. V. Kireevskii i ego sobranie narodnykh pesen* (Leningrad, 1971). See also my review of Soimonov's book in *Kritika* 9:2 (Winter 1973), pp. 58–69. There are several interesting essays by Soimonov and others in *Literaturnoe nasledstvo*, Vol. 79 (Moscow, 1968), along with a collection of the song texts contributed to Kireevsky's collection by notable Russian writers of the time.
45. Herzen, *Du développement*, p. 92.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 106.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 127.
48. For an acute analysis of Herzen's "Russian socialism," which stresses far less its debt to Slavophilism, see Martin Malia, *Alexander Herzen*, pp. 395–415.
49. See, for example, Philip Pomper's *Russian Revolutionary Intelligentsia* (New York, 1970).
50. "Peasant worship" was an important cause of the famous quarrel between the *Contemporary* (after Chernyshevsky's arrest) and the *Russian Word*. See B. P. Koz'min, "Raskol v nigilistakh," *Iz istorii revoliutsionnoi mysli v Rossii* (Moscow, 1961).
51. One might possibly cite the ideas of the so-called *pochvenniki*, the most notable of whom was Fëdor Dostoevsky. And there was also Pan-Slavism. But neither had either the breadth of influence or the staying power of the Populist vision. The only real rival of Populism in this period was the unabashed chauvinism, the *kvass* patriotism, of Mikhail Katkov, whose ideas were few and hardly constitute an intellectual system.

CHAPTER THREE: THE NEW ERA AND ITS JOURNALISTS: HERZEN AND CHERNYSHEVSKY

1. *My Past and Thoughts: The Memoirs of Alexander Herzen*, Vol. III (New York, 1968), p. 1483.
2. For two quite different accounts of this process, see Anthony Graham Netting, *Russian Liberalism: The Years of Promise, 1842–1855* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1967); and Nicholas Riasanovsky, *A Parting of Ways: Government and the Educated Public in Russia, 1801–1855* (Oxford, 1977), especially Chapter 5.
3. Riasanovsky, *A Parting of Ways*, pp. 276–83. The figures appear to be drawn from the Ph.D. dissertation of Gary Marker at the University of California at Berkeley.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 281.
5. *Dnevnik Very Sergeevny Aksakovoi* (St. Petersburg, 1913), p. 102.

6. "Vospominaniia N. V. Shelgunova," in N. V. Shelgunov, L. P. Shelgunova, M. L. Mikhailov, *Vospominaniia*, Vol. I (Moscow, 1967), p. 76. For a fairly broad range of opinion and response to the death of Nicholas and the coming of a "new era," see A. A. Kornilov, *Obshchestvennoe dvizhenie pri Aleksandre II* (Moscow, 1909), pp. 5-16. See also B. N. Chicherin, *Vospominaniia*, Vol. II (Moscow, 1929), pp. 158-64.
7. Quoted in A. Gratieux, *A. S. Khomiakov et le mouvement slavophile*, Vol. I (Paris, 1939), p. 153.
8. Terence Emmons, "The Peasant and Emancipation," in Wayne Vucinich, ed., *The Peasant in Nineteenth-Century Russia* (Stanford, 1968), p. 50.
9. See *Zhurnal ministerstva narodnogo proshveshcheniia*, No. 1 (1862) (insert).
10. Z. P. Bazileva, "Kolokol" Gertsena (Moscow, 1949), p. 22.
11. *Ibid.*
12. For Herzen's reply to Turgenev, see his "Another Variation on an Old Theme," published in the *Polar Star*, Booklet III (1857), and reprinted in *My Past and Thoughts: The Memoirs of Alexander Herzen*, Vol. IV (New York, 1968), pp. 1560-73.
13. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 1296-97.
14. Martin Malia, *Alexander Herzen and the Birth of Russian Socialism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1961), p. 426.
15. Bazileva, "Kolokol" Gertsena, p. 32.
16. A Soviet facsimile edition in four volumes was published in Moscow (1974-76).
17. Terence Emmons, *The Russian Landed Gentry and the Peasant Emancipation of 1861* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), p. 45n.
18. *Golosa iz Rossii*, Booklet IV (London, 1857), pp. 112-25, *passim*. See also Emmons, *The Russian Landed Gentry*, p. 46.
19. Bazileva, "Kolokol" Gertsena, pp. 55-56.
20. Cited in Ia. El'sberg, *Gertsen* (Moscow, 1963), pp. 421-22.
21. Bazileva, "Kolokol" Gertsena, p. 71.
22. *Ibid.*, pp. 68-69.
23. "Emperor Alexander I and Karazin," *My Past and Thoughts*, Vol. IV, pp. 1558-59.
24. Bazileva, "Kolokol" Gertsena, p. 139.
25. Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 77.
26. *Ibid.*, pp. 152-53.
27. Daniel Field, *The End of Serfdom: Nobility and Bureaucracy in Russia, 1855-1861* (Cambridge, Mass., 1976), pp. 169, 239.
28. "'Ispoved' V. I. Kel'sieva," *Literaturnoe nasledstvo*, Vol. 41/42 (Moscow, 1941), pp. 273-74.
29. Bazileva, "Kolokol" Gertsena, p. 116.

30. William F. Woehrlin, *Chernyshevskii: The Man and the Journalist* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971), p. 90.
31. *Ibid.*, pp. 14-19.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 48.
33. See, for example, E. Lampert, *Sons Against Fathers* (Oxford, 1965), pp. 109-20.
34. Quoted in Franco Venturi, *Roots of Revolution* (New York, 1960), p. 157.
35. Nicolas Berdyaev, *The Origins of Russian Communism* (Ann Arbor, 1960), p. 45.
36. Avrahm Yarmolinsky, *Turgenev: The Man, His Art and His Age* (New York, 1961), p. 179.
37. I. S. Turgenev, *Ottsy i deti* (Moscow, 1959), p. 42.
38. Woehrlin, *Chernyshevskii*, p. 95.
39. Quoted in Thomas Hegarty, *Student Movements in Russian Universities, 1855-1861* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1965), p. 26.
40. Venturi, *Roots of Revolution*, p. 151.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 152.
42. For a rather speculative assessment of Dobroliubov's changing attitude toward Herzen, see E. G. Bushkanets, "Dobroliubov i Gertsen," in V. P. Volgin *et al.*, *Problemy izucheniia Gertsena* (Moscow, 1963), pp. 280-93.
43. The most recent Soviet account of the meeting is Iu. Korotkov, "Gospodin, kotoryi byl v subbotu v Fuleme," *Prometei*, No. 8 (1971), pp. 166-88. For a concise account in English, see Woehrlin, *Chernyshevskii*, pp. 253-55.
44. Quoted in Venturi, *Roots of Revolution*, p. 158.
45. Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 159.
46. Quoted in Woehrlin, *Chernyshevskii*, pp. 255-56.
47. An excellent Soviet work that stresses the contribution of Herzen and Ogarëv to Land and Liberty is Ia. I. Linkov, *Revoliutsionnaia bor'ba A. I. Gertsena i N. P. Ogarëva i tainoe obshchestvo "Zemlia i volia" 1860-kh godov* (Moscow, 1964). See also E. S. Vilenskaia, *Revoliutsionnoe podpol'e v Rossii (60-e gody XIX v)* (Moscow, 1965), pp. 84-182.
48. On Chernyshevsky's relationship to Land and Liberty, see the careful discussion in Woehrlin, *Chernyshevskii*, pp. 297-311.

CHAPTER FOUR: UNIVERSITY STUDENTS IN THE NEW ERA

1. Donald K. Emmerson, *Students and Politics in Developing Nations* (New York, 1968), pp. 415-16.

2. See Patrick Alston, *Education and the State in Tsarist Russia* (Stanford, 1969), pp. 10–11.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
4. Thomas Hegarty, *Student Movements in Russian Universities, 1855–1861* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1965), p. 3.
5. Alston, *Education and the State*, p. 36.
6. Hegarty, *Student Movements*, p. 4.
7. Jean Piaget, "The Mental Development of the Child," *Six Psychological Studies* (New York, 1968), pp. 67–68.
8. See the suggestive study of 405 St. Petersburg radicals provided by Daniel Brower in *Training the Nihilists: Education and Radicalism in Tsarist Russia* (Ithaca, 1975), especially pp. 36–39, 118.
9. See, for instance, Kenneth Keniston, *Young Radicals: Notes on Committed Youth* (New York, 1968), especially pp. 44–76.
10. For biographical data, see William Woehrlin, *Chernyshevskii: The Man and the Journalist* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971), especially pp. 13–61.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
12. For a brief account of Dobroliubov's career, see E. Lampert, *Sons Against Fathers* (Oxford, 1965), pp. 226–71.
13. L. F. Panteleev, "Iz vospominanii proshlogo," *Vospominaniia* (Moscow, 1958), pp. 199–200.
14. For an astute analysis of Kavelin's political position, see Daniel Field, "Kavelin and Russian Liberalism," *Slavic Review* 32:1 (March 1973), pp. 59–78.
15. Anthony Graham Netting, *Russian Liberalism: The Years of Promise* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1967), p. 512.
16. Hegarty, *Student Movements*, pp. 207–209.
17. Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 383.
18. Franco Venturi, *Roots of Revolution* (New York, 1960), p. 222.
19. Cf. B. P. Koz'min, "P. G. Zaichnevskii i 'Molodaia Rossiia,'" *Iz istorii revoliutsionnoi mysli v Rossii* (Moscow, 1961).
20. Venturi, *Roots of Revolution*, p. 285.
21. Hegarty, *Student Movements*, p. 228.
22. *Ibid.*, pp. 256–61.
23. See, for instance, N. G. Sladkevich, "Peterburgskii universitet i obshchestvennoe dvizhenie v Rossii v nachale 60-kh godov XIX v.," *Vestnik Leningradskogo Universiteta*, No. 8 (1947), p. 108.
24. Panteleev, *Vospominaniia* (Moscow, 1958), p. 160.
25. Alexander Serno-Solov'evich, *Nashi domashnie dela* (Geneva, 1867), quoted in E. H. Carr, *The Romantic Exiles* (Harmondsworth, England), pp. 304–306.

26. See in particular Alain Besançon, *Éducation et société en Russie dans le second tiers du XIX^e siècle* (Paris and The Hague, 1974); and Daniel R. Brower, *Training the Nihilists*.

27. See the telling criticisms in Hegarty, *Student Movements*, especially pp. 9-11.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE UNIVERSITY OF ST. PETERSBURG

1. B. A. Modzalevsky, "K istorii Peterburgskago universiteta, 1857-1859 g. Iz bumag L. N. Modzalevskago," *Golos Minuvshago*, No. 1 (1917), pp. 136-37.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 139.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 141-42.

4. A. M. Skabichevsky, *Literaturnye vospominaniia* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1928), p. 93.

5. L. F. Panteleev, "Iz vospominanii proshlogo," *Vospominaniia* (Moscow, 1958), pp. 131-32.

6. Hegarty, *Student Movements in Russian Universities, 1855-1861* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1965), p. 79.

7. Skabichevsky, *Literaturnye vospominaniia*, p. 97.

8. Hegarty, *Student Movements*, pp. 79-82.

9. On the Sunday School movement in general, see Reginald Zelnik, "The Sunday School Movement in Russia, 1859-62," *Journal of Modern History* 37:2 (June 1965), pp. 151-70.

10. Skabichevsky, *Literaturnye vospominaniia*, pp. 124-25.

11. The best overview of the subject in any language is Richard Stites, *The Women's Liberation Movement in Russia: Feminism, Nihilism and Bolshevism, 1860-1930* (Princeton, 1978).

12. Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 34.

13. See Barbara Heldt Monter, "Rassvet (1859-1862) and the Woman Question," *Slavic Review* 36:1 (March 1977), pp. 76-85.

14. Panteleev, *Vospominaniia*, p. 213.

15. Skabichevsky, *Literaturnye vospominaniia*, p. 142.

16. Hegarty, *Student Movements*, p. 101. For Spasovich's own brief account of the trial, see his *Sochineniia*, Vol. IV (St. Petersburg, 1891), p. 25.

17. Hegarty, *Student Movements*, pp. 84-85.

18. Skabichevsky, *Literaturnye vospominaniia*, pp. 144-46.

19. Hegarty, *Student Movements*, p. 96.

20. A. A. Kornilov, *Obshchestvennoe dvizhenie pri Aleksandre II* (Moscow, 1909), p. 122.

21. N. G. Sladkevich, "Peterburgskii universitet i obshchestvennoe

- dvizhenie v Rossii, v nachale 60-kh godov XIX v.," *Vestnik Leningradskogo Universiteta*, No. 8 (1947), p. 106.
22. Hegarty, *Student Movements*, p. 47.
23. *Ibid.*, pp. 52-53.
24. On the students' return to the university, see, for instance, Vladimir Sorokin, "Vospominaniia starogo studenta," *Russkaia starina*, No. 11 (November 1906), pp. 450-51.
25. For Spasovich's account of the Kavelin Commission's activities, see his *Sochineniia*, Vol. IV (St. Petersburg, 1891), pp. 26-27.
26. Hegarty, *Student Movements*, p. 108.
27. Sorokin, "Vospominaniia starogo studenta," pp. 454-55.
28. Hegarty, *Student Movements*, pp. 116-18.
29. *Ibid.*, pp. 120-21.
30. Sorokin, "Vospominaniia starogo studenta," pp. 458-59.
31. Quoted in Patrick Alston, *Education and the State in Tsarist Russia* (Stanford, 1969), p. 49.
32. E. A. Shtakenshneider, *Dnevnik i zapiski (1854-56)* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1934), p. 296.
33. Panteleev, *Vospominaniia*, p. 254.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 248. See also Skabichevsky, *Literaturnye vospominaniia*, p. 149.

CHAPTER SIX: A NEW LEFT AND A NEW RIGHT

1. On the manifesto's distribution and content, see Franco Venturi, *Roots of Revolution* (New York, 1960), pp. 247-50.
2. On the *Great Russian*, see *ibid.*, pp. 237-40; and William F. Woehrlin, *Chernyshevskii: The Man and the Journalist* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971), pp. 287-94.
3. L. F. Panteleev, "Iz vospominanii proshlogo," *Vospominaniia* (Moscow, 1958), p. 274.
4. Cited in Charles C. Adler, Jr., "Domestic Russia in 1861: A Contemporary Perspective," *Canadian Slavic Studies* 3:2 (1969), p. 333.
5. Venturi, *Roots of Revolution*, p. 173.
6. Adler, "Domestic Russia in 1861," p. 326.
7. A. V. Nikitenko, *Dnevnik*, Vol. II (Leningrad, 1955), pp. 265-268.
8. Cited in S. Reiser, "Peterburgskie pozhary 1862 goda," *Katorga i ssylka*, No. 10 (1932), pp. 88-89.
9. See *ibid.*, p. 87.
10. P. Kropotkin, *Memoirs of a Revolutionist* (Boston and New York, 1899), pp. 157-61.
11. Nikitenko, *Dnevnik*, p. 274.

12. Panteleev, *Vospominaniia*, p. 277.
13. Reiser, "Peterburgskie pozhary," p. 101.
14. A. M. Skabichevsky, *Literaturnye vospominaniia* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1928), p. 157.
15. Kropotkin, *Memoirs of a Revolutionist*, p. 165.
16. Quoted in Reiser, "Peterburgskie pozhary," p. 83.
17. For some illuminating introductory observations on panic and crowd behavior, see Ralph R. Turner, "Collective Behavior," in Robert Faris, ed., *Handbook of Modern Sociology* (Chicago, 1964), pp. 382-425. See also Joost Meerlo, *Patterns of Panic* (New York, 1950); and Neil Smelser, *Theory of Collective Behavior* (New York and London, 1962).
18. Quoted in Venturi, *Roots of Revolution*, pp. 292-93.
19. On the circulation of *Young Russia* and its timing, see B. P. Koz'min, *Iz istorii revoliutsionnoi mysli v Rossii* (Moscow, 1961), pp. 222-23.
20. Quoted in Nikolai Barsukov, *Zhizn' i trudy M. P. Pogodina*, Vol. XIX (St. Petersburg, 1905), p. 134.
21. Quoted in Reiser, "Peterburgskie pozhary," p. 108.
22. A. A. Kornilov, *Obshchestvennoe dvizhenie pri Aleksandre II* (Moscow, 1909), pp. 134-35.
23. Quoted in Martin Katz, *Michael N. Katkov: A Political Biography* (Paris and The Hague, 1966), p. 121.
24. Kornilov, *Obshchestvennoe dvizhenie*, p. 161.
25. *My Past and Thoughts. The Memoirs of Alexander Herzen* (New York, 1968), pp. 1309-10.

CHAPTER SEVEN: FROM SLAVOPHILISM TO POPULISM:

A. P. SHCHAPOV

1. For biographical information on Rybnikov, see Franco Venturi, *Roots of Revolution* (New York, 1960), pp. 232-33; Gruzinsky, ed., *Pesni sobrannyya P. N. Rybnikovym*, Vol. I (Moscow, 1909); and A. P. Razumova, *Iz istorii russkoi fol'kloristiki: P. N. Rybnikov i P. S. Efimenko* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1954). There is a delightful excerpt of Rybnikov's account of his song collecting in W. R. S. Ralston, *The Songs of the Russian People* (London, 1872), pp. 63-76.
2. Quoted in Gruzinsky, ed., *Pesni sobrannyya Rybnikovym*, Vol. I, p. lx.
3. The only significant English-language account of his career is in Venturi, *Roots of Revolution*, pp. 196-203.
4. The best available account of life in a bursa is contained in N. G. Pomyalovsky, *Seminary Sketches* (Ithaca and London, 1973).
5. Almost all that we know about Shchapov's life prior to 1860 comes

- from N. Ia. Aristov, *Afanasii Prokofevich Shchapov. Zhizn' i sochineniia* (St. Petersburg, 1883). See pp. 5-6.
6. Josef Wachendorf, *Regionalismus, Raskol und Volk als Hauptprobleme der Russischen Geschichte bei A. P. Ščapov* (doctoral dissertation, University of Cologne, 1964), p. 4.
7. M. V. Nauchitel', *Zhizn' i deiatel'nost' Afanasiia Prokofevicha Shchapova, 1831-1876 gg.* (Irkutsk, 1958), p. 9.
8. G. A. Luchinsky, "Afanasii Prokofevich Shchapov: biograficheskii ocherk," *Sochineniia A. P. Shchapova*, Vol. III (St. Petersburg, 1908), pp. xi-xii.
9. For details on Eliseev's career, see James H. Billington, *Mikhailovsky and Russian Populism* (Oxford, 1958), pp. 46-49 and *passim*.
10. On Shchapov's relationship with Eshevsky, see Luchinsky, "Shchapov," *Sochineniia*, Vol. III, p. xxii.
11. Aristov is explicit on the time. See *Shchapov*, pp. 43-44.
12. Much of Aksakov's writing on history is contained in his *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, Vol. I (1861). For a sophisticated and thorough analysis of his ideas, see Andrzej Walicki, *The Slavophile Controversy* (Oxford, 1975), especially pp. 238-83.
13. Walicki, *Slavophile Controversy*, p. 265.
14. Nicolas Berdyaev, *The Russian Idea* (New York, 1948), p. 145.
15. Aksakov's strictures on the sixth and seventh volumes of Solov'ev's *History of Russia* are contained in his *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, Vol. I, pp. 125-72, 217-54. He continued to criticize successive volumes until his death in 1860.
16. On Leshkov, see S. Frederick Starr, *Decentralization and Self-Government in Russia, 1830-1870* (Princeton, 1972), pp. 344-46.
17. It is reprinted in his *Sochineniia*, Vol. I (St. Petersburg, 1906), pp. 173-450.
18. These articles have not been reprinted. Their titles are given and their content briefly summarized in Shchapov's *Sochineniia*, Vol. III, p. xxiv.
19. See, for instance, his *Velikoruskiiia oblasti i smutnoe vremia (1606-1613)*, which appeared in the *Annals of the Fatherland* in 1861 and is reprinted in his *Sochineniia*, Vol. I, pp. 648-709.
20. See his two articles on the *Zemskii sobor* in *ibid.*, pp. 710-52.
21. Wachendorf, *Regionalismus, Raskol und Volk*, pp. 52-54.
22. *Ibid.*, pp. 58-61.
23. See Thomas Hegarty, *Student Movements in Russian Universities, 1855-1861* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1965), pp. 199-250; and G. N. Vul'fson and E. G. Bushkanets, *Obshchestvenno-politicheskaia bor'ba v Kazanskoi universitete v 1859-1861 godakh* (Kazan', 1955), pp. 15-68.

24. Hegarty, *Student Movements*, pp. 200–201.
25. Quoted in Wachendorf, *Regionalismus, Raskol und Volk*, pp. 106–107.
26. There is a brief discussion of Shchapov's constitution in Nauchitel', *Zhizn' i deiatel'nost' Shchapova*, pp. 47–54.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 39.
28. Aristov's account of Shchapov's scholarly bad conscience is not convincing to me. See *Shchapov*, pp. 61–63, for his curious and confusing account of Shchapov's mood during the winter and spring of 1861.
29. This episode has recently been investigated by Daniel Field with as great a sophistication and thoroughness as the surviving documentation allows. See *Rebels in the Name of the Tsar* (Boston, 1976), especially pp. 31–111.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 33.
31. Quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 101–102. There are various versions of Shchapov's speech. See the discussion in *ibid.*, pp. 95–103.
32. The best account of the government's reaction and Shchapov's arrest is contained in Luchinsky, "Shchapov," *Sochineniia*, Vol. III, pp. xxxvii–lii.
33. "Pis'mo A. P. Shchapova Aleksandru II v 1861 g.," *Krasnyi arkhiv*, Vol. XIX (1926), pp. 150–65.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 151.
35. Aristov, *Shchapov*, p. 69.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 90.
37. The letter was written to the curator at Kazan', whose father, the poet, had written a poem that Shchapov believed was a personal attack on him, although his name was not mentioned. The letter concludes with some bitter words on the drunkenness of Russian writers, which Shchapov ascribed to the privations and sadness of Russian life. M. V. Nechkina, "A. P. Shchapov v gody revoliutsionnoi situatsii. Pis'mo k P. P. Viazemskomu ot 8 oktiabria 1861 g.," *Literaturnoe nasledstvo*, Vol. 67 (1959), pp. 645–68.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 658.
39. On the *Century*, see B. P. Koz'min, "Artelnyi zhurnal 'Vek' (1862)," *Iz istorii revoliutsionnoi mysli v Rossii* (Moscow, 1961), pp. 68–98.
40. See Michael Cherniavsky's important essay, "The Old Believers and the New Religion," *Slavic Review* 25:1 (1966), pp. 1–39, reprinted in Cherniavsky, ed., *The Structure of Russian History* (New York, 1970), pp. 140–88. Despite Cherniavsky's greater historical sophistication, he follows Shchapov in understanding the development of the Schism as reflecting the opposition of Muscovite society to the social rationalism and political mobilization undertaken by Peter the Great and his successors.

41. Shchapov, *Sochineniia*, Vol. I, pp. 498–502.
42. See Aristov, *Shchapov*, pp. 92–94.
43. For Aristov's authoritative account of their courtship, see *ibid.*, pp. 97–101.
44. The whole affair is fully treated in M. K. Lemke, "Delo o litsakh, obviniaemykh v snosheniakh s londonskimi propagandistami," *Byloe*, No. 9 (1906), pp. 158–207; No. 10, pp. 80–120; No. 11, pp. 194–220.
45. Luchinsky, "Shchapov," *Sochineniia*, pp. lvii–lviii.
46. A. P. Shchapov, *Sobranie sochinenii*, Vol. IV (Irkutsk, 1937), pp. 3–19.
47. On Vasil'ev, see Andrew Malozemoff, *Russian Far Eastern Policy 1881–1904* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1958), *passim*.
48. *Otechestvennye zapiski*, No. 5 (1876), p. 183, quoted in Nauchitel', *Zhizn' i deiatel'nost' Shchapova*, p. 50.
49. On Shchapov and the so-called Kazan' Conspiracy, see Venturi, *Roots of Revolution*, p. 305. There is considerable material about Shchapov's relations with student radicals at Kazan' (including an interesting "letter home" from the summer of 1861) in Ia. I. Linkov, *Revoliutsionnaia bor'ba A. I. Gertsena i N. P. Ogarëva i tainoe obshchestvo "Zemlia i volia" 1860-kh godov* (Moscow, 1964), especially pp. 245–56.
50. See German Lopatin, "A. P. Shchapov," *Avtobiografia* (Petrograd, 1918), pp. 128–34.
51. See Mikhail Dragomanov's introduction to *Michael Bakunins Sozial-politischer Briefwechsel mit Alexander Iw. Herzen* (Stuttgart, 1895), p. lxxi.
52. Vera Figner, "Studencheskie gody," *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, Vol. V (Moscow, 1929), p. 93.
53. "Afanasii Prokofevich Shchapov," *Vestnik Narodnoi Voli*, No. 1 (1883), reprinted in Georgy Plekhanov, *Sochineniia*, Vol. II (Moscow-Petrograd, n.d. 1923), pp. 10–20.
54. S. Frederick Starr, *Decentralization and Self-Government in Russia, 1830–1870* (Princeton, 1972), especially pp. 348–54.

CHAPTER EIGHT: THE EMERGENCE OF POPULIST STYLE: PAVEL IVANOVICH IAKUSHKIN

1. My version of the civil execution is based on the several accounts contained in Iu. G. Oksman, ed., *N. G. Chernyshevskii v vospominaniakh sovremennikov* (Vol. II Saratov, 1959), pp. 19–54.
2. For the most authoritative version of how Iakushkin "saved the girl," see A. I. Balandin, *P. I. Iakushkin. Iz istorii russkoi fol'kloristiki* (Moscow, 1969), pp. 215–22.
3. There is a good deal of biographical information on Iakushkin in S. V.

Maksimov's introduction to Iakushkin's *Sochineniia* (St. Petersburg, 1884) and in the recollections contained in the same volume. There are two Soviet biographies: V. G. Bazanov, *Pavel Ivanovich Iakushkin* (Orël, 1950); and A. I. Balandin, *P. I. Iakushkin*. Neither is up to its subject; both are useful.

4. Iakushkin, *Sochineniia*, pp. xlvii–lxiii.

5. Balandin, *Iakushkin*, p. 13.

6. On Pëtr Kireevsky, see (in addition to the standard literature on Slavophilism) his *Pis'ma N. M. Iazykovu* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1935); the essays in Vol. 79 of *Literaturnoe nasledstvo*, which appeared in Moscow in 1968; and the interesting study by A. D. Soimonov, *P. V. Kireevskii i ego sobranie narodnykh pesen* (Leningrad, 1971).

7. See M. O. Gershenzon's perceptive characterization in *Obrazy proshlogo* (Moscow, 1912), pp. 94ff.

8. On the contributions to the collection from Russia's intellectuals and writers, see *Literaturnoe nasledstvo*, Vol. 79, *passim*.

9. See Balandin, *Iakushkin*, pp. 28–38.

10. A good Soviet edition is *Narodnye russkie skazki* (3 vols.) (Moscow, 1957), with an introduction and notes by V. Ia. Propp.

11. His biography must be among the longest ever written. It is invaluable as a primary source on nineteenth-century Russian history. See N. P. Barsukov, *Zhizn' i trudy M. P. Pogodina* (22 vols.) (St. Petersburg, 1888–1910).

12. A number of splendid examples can be found in Nicholas Riasanovsky, *Nicholas I and Official Nationality in Russia* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1961), pp. 104–114.

13. Barsukov, *Zhizn' Pogodina*, Vol. X, pp. 23–27, quoted in Balandin, *Iakushkin*, pp. 24–26.

14. "Velik Bog zemli russkoi," *Sochineniia*, pp. 1–42.

15. Iakushkin, *Sochineniia*, p. lxxxiv.

16. The fullest account of Iakushkin's involvement in the Kireevsky collection is in Balandin, *Iakushkin*, pp. 57–95.

17. Iakushkin, *Sochineniia*, p. xlv.

18. *Ibid.*, p. xii.

19. *Ibid.*, pp. lxii–lxiii.

20. *Ibid.*, p. lxxxii.

21. *Ibid.*, pp. lxxv–lxxx.

22. *Ibid.*, p. lix.

23. *Ibid.*, pp. lxix–lxxi.

24. For the careers of three Populist writers of a slightly later period whose biographies have something in common with Iakushkin's, see Richard Wortman, *The Crisis of Russian Populism* (Cambridge, England, 1967), *passim*.

25. On the "Pskov Affair," see the various documents collected in Iakushkin's *Sochineniia*, pp. xcvi-civ. See also Balandin, *Iakushkin*, pp. 125-44.
26. Iakushkin, *Sochineniia*, pp. 43-76.
27. "Prezhniaia rekrutchina i soldatskaia zhizn'," *ibid.*, pp. 142-52.
28. On Herzen and Iakushkin, see Balandin, *Iakushkin*, pp. 224-37.
29. Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 240.
30. Ch. Vetrinsky, "P. I. Iakushkin v Nizhnem Novgorode," *Sovremenyi mir*, No. 4 (1908), p. 45, quoted in A. P. Razumova, *Iz istorii russkoi fol'kloristiki. P. N. Rybnikov. P. S. Efimenko* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1954), p. 11.
31. Quoted in Balandin, *Iakushkin*, pp. 247-48.
32. *Ibid.*, pp. 261-68.
33. *Ibid.*, pp. 257-58.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 260.
35. V. G. Bazanov, *Pavel Ivanovich Iakushkin*, p. 66; Balandin, *Iakushkin*, pp. 208-212.
36. Vladimir Sorokin, "Vospominaniia starogo studenta," *Russkaia starina*, No. 11 (November 1906), p. 444.
37. Balandin, *Iakushkin*, p. 269.
38. Iakushkin, *Sochineniia*, pp. 77-89.
39. Balandin, *Iakushkin*, p. 284.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 298.
41. Iakushkin, "Putevyia pis'ma iz Astrakhanskoi gubernii," *Sochineniia*, pp. 395-452.
42. They have been republished by A. N. Lozanova in her *Pesni i skazaniia o Razine i Pugachëva* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1935), pp. 110-24.
43. Iakushkin, *Sochineniia*, p. 407.
44. *Ibid.*
45. Balandin, *Iakushkin*, pp. 302-303.
46. Iakushkin, *Sochineniia*, p. 452.
47. *Ibid.*, p. xciii.
48. *Ibid.*, p. xcv.

CHAPTER NINE: RUSSIAN JACOBINS

1. Alexander Herzen, *From the Other Shore and the Russian People and Socialism* (Cleveland and New York, 1963). See the Introduction by Isaiah Berlin, p. xx.
2. For a good general account of this "schism among the nihilists," as it was called, see B. P. Koz'min, *Iz istorii revoliutsionnoi mysli v Rossii* (Moscow, 1961), pp. 20-67.

3. N. G. Chernyshevsky, *Chto delat'?* (Leningrad, 1948), p. 14.
4. Quoted in Adam B. Ulam, *The Bolsheviks* (New York, 1965), pp. 65–66.
5. P. Kropotkin, *Ideals and Realities in Russian Literature* (New York, 1919), p. 281.
6. Quoted in N. I. Prutskov, *Russkaia literatura XIX veka i revoliutsionnaia Rossiia* (Leningrad, 1971), p. 106.
7. Vladimir Nabokov, *The Gift* (New York, 1963), p. 289.
8. Nikolay Valentinov, *Encounters with Lenin* (London, 1968), pp. 67–68.
9. Kropotkin found Bazarov “too harsh” and apparently neglectful of his “duties as a citizen.” Among Russian radicals of the day, only Dmitry Pisarev and a few like-minded people “accepted” Bazarov as a representative portrait. Most members of the radical intelligentsia, under the sway of Populist ideas, found his attitude toward the *narod* too elitist and tinged with contempt. *Memoirs of a Revolutionist* (Boston and New York, 1899), pp. 300–301.
10. There is some information in M. M. Klevensky and K. G. Kotel'nikov, *Pokushenie Karakozova*, Vol. I (Moscow, 1928), p. 304. There is a bit of additional information in M. M. Klevensky, *Ishutinskii kruzhek i pokushenie Karakozova* (Moscow, 1927), pp. 10–11. See also E. S. Vilenskaia, *Revoliutsionnoe podpol'e v Rossii (60-e gody XIX v)* (Moscow, 1965), especially pp. 189–96.
11. Vilenskaia, *Revoliutsionnoe podpol'e*, pp. 195–96.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 189–92.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 192.
14. Quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 192–93. For a similar picture of the new spirit in a provincial gymnasium (Viatka, 1862), see N. A. Charushin, *O dalekom proshlom* (2d ed.) (Moscow, 1973), p. 34.
15. Franco Venturi, *Roots of Revolution* (New York, 1960), p. 332.
16. Klevensky, *Pokushenie*, Vol. I, p. 306.
17. Vilenskaia, *Revoliutsionnoe podpol'e*, p. 213.
18. On the Spiridov group, see *ibid.*, pp. 216–28.
19. Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 264.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 270.
21. The charter is discussed in *ibid.*, pp. 272–74.
22. Klevensky, *Pokushenie*, Vol. II, pp. 116–17.
23. See M. M. Klevensky, ed., “Pobeg Iaroslava Dombrovskogo,” *Krasnyi arkhiv*, Vol. III (xxii) (1927), pp. 236–41.
24. Klevensky, *Pokushenie*, Vol. I, p. 196.
25. Venturi, *Roots of Revolution*, p. 335.

CHAPTER TEN: THE FIRST SHOT

1. Lopatin's description is from his obituary of Khudiakov (1876), written for Lavrov's journal *Forward* (*Vperëd*) and reprinted at the conclusion of the French translation of Khudiakov's memoirs. See *Mémoires d'un révolutionnaire* (Paris, 1889).
2. See the descriptions collected by E. S. Vilenskaia in her *Khudiakov* (Moscow, 1969), pp. 22-23.
3. Republished in the Soviet Union as *Zapiski karakozovtza* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1930). I quote throughout from this edition.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 83-94, *passim*.
5. The remark was deleted from the published version of his memoirs, but is reproduced by V. G. Bazanov in his "I. A. Khudiakov i pokushenie Karakozova," *Russkaia literatura*, No. 4 (1962), p. 163.
6. See Stith Thompson, *The Folktale* (New York, 1946), p. 370.
7. On Khudiakov's mythological views, see E. Bobrov, "Nauchno-literaturnaia deiatel'nost' I. A. Khudiakova," *Zhurnal Ministerstva narodnogo prosveshcheniia*, No. 8 (August 1908), pp. 193-240. Khudiakov discusses the mythological origins of folklore in "Osnovoi element narodnykh skazok," *Biblioteka dlia chteniia*, No. 12 (1863), pp. 38-45. See also his "Narodnye istoricheskie skazki," *Zhurnal Ministerstva narodnogo prosveshcheniia*, No. 3 (March 1864), especially pp. 43-45.
8. Khudiakov, *Zapiski karakozovtza*, pp. 54, 77.
9. L. F. Panteleev, *Iz vospominanii proshlogo* (St. Petersburg, 1905), pp. 312-13.
10. See the Soviet reissue of all three volumes: *Velikorusские сказки* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1964), with an informative if somewhat doctrinaire Introduction by V. G. Bazanov.
11. On Khudiakov's view of folktales, see in particular his "Osnovnoi element narodnykh skazok," pp. 38-45; and his "Narodnye istoricheskie skazki," *Zhurnal Ministerstva narodnogo prosveshcheniia*, No. 3 (1864), pp. 43-69. For an excellent bibliography on both Khudiakov's own works and secondary literature, see the Soviet edition of *Velikorusские сказки*, pp. 294-97.
12. See "'Evropeiskii revoliutsionnyi komitet' v dele Karakozova," in B. I. Gorev and B. P. Koz'min, eds., *Revoliutsionnoe dvizhenie 1860-kh godov* (Moscow, 1931), pp. 147-67.
13. E. S. Vilenskaia, *Revoliutsionnoe podpol'e v Rossii (60-e gody XIX v)* (Moscow, 1965), p. 389, for a reconstruction of the draft.
14. Cf. M. M. Klevenky and K. G. Kotel'nikov, *Pokushenie Karakozova*, Vol. II (Moscow, 1928), pp. 125, 325-30.
15. Quoted in Vilenskaia, *Revoliutsionnoe podpol'e*, p. 233.

16. For Fedoseev's testimony and that of several other members of the group, see Klevenky, *Pokushenie*, Vol. II, pp. 206–208.
17. *Ibid.*, pp. 72–73.
18. Franco Venturi, *Roots of Revolution* (New York, 1960), p. 336.
19. For Motkov's account, see Klevenky, *Pokushenie*, Vol. II, pp. 26–29, 94, 144, 325–33.
20. *Ibid.*, pp. 43–44.
21. Quoted in Venturi, *Roots of Revolution*, p. 344.
22. Klevenky, *Pokushenie*, Vol. I, p. 291.
23. See M. M. Klevenky, "Iz vospominanii Z. K. Ralli," in B. I. Gorev and B. P. Koz'min, *Revoliutsionnoe dvizhenie 1860-kh godov* (Moscow, 1931), p. 138.
24. For two sketches of Karakozov, see Khudiakov, *Mémoires d'un révolutionnaire*, pp. 170–75; and D. V. Stasov, "Karakozovskii protsess," *Byloe*, No. 4 (1906), pp. 271–72. Khudiakov stresses Karakozov's lack of vanity, his solitariness—and his lack of competence in worldly matters. Stasov, Ishutin's lawyer, regarded Karakozov as mentally unbalanced and stressed Ishutin's influence over him.
25. See the report of the doctors, quoted in Klevenky, *Pokushenie*, Vol. I, p. 298.
26. Venturi, *Roots of Revolution*, p. 345.
27. Klevenky, "Iz vospominanii Z. K. Ralli," pp. 138–39. One must use this source with caution, however. Ralli clearly exaggerated this regicidal impulse; "all Moscow," he claimed, "knew the phrase of Lincoln's assassin: sic semper tiranis [*sic!*]."
28. For the traditional view—that they were opposed—see Venturi, *Roots of Revolution*, pp. 345–47. For the view that both Ishutin and Khudiakov were much more deeply involved, see Vilenskaia, *Revoliutsionnoe podpol'e*, pp. 417–29; and Adam Ulam, *In the Name of the People* (New York, 1977), pp. 157–68.
29. On Kobylin, the "enigmatic" Dr. Kobylin, see Ulam, *In the Name of the People*, pp. 160–68, *passim*.
30. I quote from the variant found on the person of Karakozov after the assassination attempt; it is printed in Klevenky, *Pokushenie*, Vol. I, pp. 293–94. The versions distributed earlier were more simply written and made no mention of regicide. For a discussion of the varying texts, and the likelihood that Khudiakov had a hand in drafting, or at least editing, the manifesto, see Vilenskaia, *Revoliutsionnoe podpol'e*, pp. 421–25.
31. Klevenky, *Pokushenie*, Vol. I, p. 294.
32. *Ibid.*
33. *Ibid.*
34. Quoted in Avrahm Yarmolinsky, *Road to Revolution* (New York, 1962), p. 141.

35. I. A. Khudiakov, *Kratkoe opisanie Verkhoianskogo okruga* (Leningrad, 1969).
36. My brief account of Khudiakov's final years is based largely on Vilen-skaia, *Khudiakov*, pp. 129-42.
37. Yarmolinsky, *Road to Revolution*, p. 140. For the American context, see Albert Woldman, *Lincoln and the Russians* (Cleveland and New York, 1952), pp. 262-63.
38. For one contemporary's slightly confused impression of "reaction-ary" working-class attitudes, see Klevenky, "Iz vospominanii Z. K. Ralli," pp. 140-42, 144.
39. The best account of Komissarov's activities is contained in Kornei Chukovsky's brilliant "Poet ili palach," in his *Nekrasov* (Leningrad, 1926). See especially p. 26. For an amusing account of Komissarov's social whirl, see Pëtr Veinberg, "4-e apreliia 1866 g.," *Byloe*, No. 4 (1906), pp. 291-95. Veinberg also gives an interesting account of the patriotic fervor in the capital during the twenty-four hours that followed Karakozov's attempt.
40. See Patrick Alston, *Education and the State in Tsarist Russia* (Stanford, 1969), p. 79.
41. S. Frederick Starr, *Decentralization and Self-Government in Russia, 1830-1870* (Princeton, 1972), p. 327.
42. Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 329.
43. *Ibid.*, pp. 329-36, for a discussion of Shuvalov's campaign against the zemstvos.
44. Quoted in A. A. Kornilov, *Obshchestvennoe dvizhenie pri Aleksandre II* (Moscow, 1909), p. 175.
45. Mikhail Lemke, quoted in Alston, *Education and the State*, p. 79.
46. Allen Sinel, *The Classroom and the Chancellery* (Cambridge, Mass., 1973). See especially his balanced assessment of Tolstoy, pp. 253-64.
47. Alston, *Education and the State*, p. 84.
48. S. G. Sviatikov, "Studencheskoe dvizhenie 1869 goda," *Istoricheskii sbornik, Nasha strana* (St. Petersburg, 1907), p. 180.

CHAPTER ELEVEN: IN PURSUIT OF NECHAEV

1. Postnikova's memoirs are contained in N. Bel'chikov, "S. G. Nechaev v s. Ivanove v 60-e gody," *Katorga i ssylka*, No. 14 (1925), pp. 152-56.
2. A facsimile of *Obshchina* is contained in Arthur Lehning, ed., *Michel Bakounine et ses relations avec Sergej Nečaeu, 1870-72, Écrits et matériaux* (Leiden, 1971), pp. 435-42. The quoted material is on p. 3 of *Obshchina*, p. 437 of Lehning's text.
3. Quoted in B. P. Koz'min, "S. G. Nechaev i ego protivniki v 60-kh gg.,"

- in B. I. Gorev and B. P. Koz'min, eds., *Revoliutsionnoe dvizhenie 1860-kh godov* (Moscow, 1931), p. 223.
4. The letters are published in *Katorga i ssylka*, No. 14, pp. 139-51.
 5. B. P. Koz'min, "Novoe o Nechaev," *Krasnyi arkhiv*, Vol. I (xiv) (1926), p. 151.
 6. Franco Venturi, *Roots of Revolution* (New York, 1960), p. 361.
 7. For a good, brief introduction to the university situation in the fall of 1868, see Daniel Brower, *Training the Nihilists: Education and Radicalism in Tsarist Russia* (Ithaca, 1975), pp. 130-34. For a lengthier account, from a radical point of view, see S. G. Sviatkov, "Studencheskoe dvizhenie 1869 goda," *Istoricheskii sbornik, Nasha strana* (St. Petersburg, 1907).
 8. Quoted in Brower, *Training the Nihilists*, p. 131.
 9. For the impact of Bakunin's article, see Sviatkov, "Studencheskoe dvizhenie," especially pp. 184-86.
 10. As reported by Vera Zasulich. See her *Vospominaniia* (Moscow, 1931), pp. 20-23.
 11. For a good, brief discussion of the *Program of Revolutionary Action*, see B. P. Koz'min, *Iz istorii revoliutsionnoi mysli v Rossii* (Moscow, 1961), pp. 357-59.
 12. Zasulich, *Vospominaniia*, p. 24.
 13. Sviatkov, "Studencheskoe dvizhenie," p. 194.
 14. Lehning, *Michel Bakounine et ses relations avec Sergej Nečaev*, p. xvi.
 15. Quoted in Michael Confino, ed., *Daughter of a Revolutionary* (London, 1974), p. 11.
 16. The pathos of Herzen's last years is unforgettably captured in E. H. Carr's brilliant *Romantic Exiles* (London, 1933), which has been reprinted numerous times. See also Confino's more accurate and circumstantial *Daughter of a Revolutionary*; and Ia. I. Linkov's *Revoliutsionnaia bor'ba A. I. Gertsena i N. P. Ogarëva i tainoe obshchestvo "Zemlia i volia" 1860-kh godov* (Moscow, 1964), especially Part IV.
 17. E. H. Carr, *Michael Bakunin* (New York, 1961, Vintage edition), pp. 368-73.
 18. Carr refers to the "story" in *ibid.*, p. 392.
 19. Quoted in Confino, *Daughter of a Revolutionary*, p. 20.
 20. Carr, *Michael Bakunin*, pp. 392-93.
 21. Koz'min, "Novoe o Nechaev," pp. 148-49.
 22. The best attempt to analyze all the documents in question is by Michael Confino. See "Bakunin et Nečaev," *Cahiers du monde Russe et Soviétique*, Vol. VII, Book 4 (1966), pp. 606-622.
 23. This pamphlet is reprinted in M. P. Dragomanov, ed., *Pis'ma M. A.*

Bakunina k A. I. Gertsenu i N. P. Ogarëvu (Geneva, 1896). I quote from Venturi's translation; see *Roots of Revolution*, pp. 368-69.

24. For a careful consideration of the degree to which Bakunin may have participated in drafting the *Catechism*, see Philip Pomper, "Bakunin, Nechaev, the 'Catechism of a Revolutionary,'" *Canadian-American Slavic Studies* 10:4 (Winter 1976), pp. 535-46. I quote throughout from the Russian version of the *Catechism* in B. Bazilevsky, ed., *Gosudarstvennyia prestupleniia v Rossii v XIX veke*, Vol. I (Stuttgart, 1903), pp. 331-37.

25. Both Koz'min and Confino have noted the connection between the *Catechism* and an earlier article of Tkachëv, "The People of the Future and the Heroes of the Bourgeoisie." See B. P. Koz'min, *P. N. Tkachëv i revoliutsionnoe dvizhenie 1860-kh godov* (Moscow, 1922), pp. 90-98. And the "people of the future" owe a good deal to the "new people" of Chernyshevsky's *What Is To Be Done?*

26. Confino, *Daughter of a Revolutionary*, p. 243.

27. Carr, *Michael Bakunin*, p. 393.

28. Bazilevsky, *Gosudarstvennyia prestupleniia*, Vol. I, p. 337.

29. During their period of most self-destructive militancy some Black Panthers were much drawn to the *Catechism*. See Paul Avrich's introduction to Sam Dolgoff, ed., *Bakunin on Anarchy* (New York, 1972), especially p. xv. The constitution of the Serbian secret society Union or Death (known to its enemies as the Black Hand) shows the influence of Nechaev's *Catechism*. See Vladimir Dedijer, *The Road to Sarajevo* (New York, 1966), p. 376.

30. Excerpt published in V. Burtsev, *Za sto let* (London, 1897), p. 91.

31. Bazilevsky, *Gosudarstvennyia prestupleniia*, Vol. I, p. 334.

32. On Uspensky, see Zasulich, *Vospominaniia*, pp. 30-34; and Koz'min, "Nechaev i ego protivniki," pp. 196-97.

33. Much of the material on Nechaev's sway over the students is drawn from Zasulich, *Vospominaniia*, pp. 29-48.

34. On Pryzhov, see M. Al'tman's lively but extremely tendentious monograph, *Ivan Gavrilovich Pryzhov* (Moscow, 1932). Al'tman has also put together an excellent collection of Pryzhov's writings: I. G. Pryzhov, *Ocherki, stat'i, pis'ma* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1934).

35. Venturi, *Roots of Revolution*, p. 375.

36. See, for example, Adam B. Ulam, *In the Name of the People* (New York, 1977), p. 189.

37. For a convenient summary of Pryzhov's identification with dogs, see *Ocherki, stat'i, pis'ma*, p. 424, note 23.

38. Vera Zasulich describes Pryzhov as being "in ecstasy" that this work-

ing-class boy could quote from Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason*. See her *Vospominaniia* (Moscow, 1931), p. 41.

39. For Ripman's testimony, see B. P. Koz'min, *Nechaev i nechaevtsy* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1931), pp. 112-15.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 119.

41. Kuznetsov's testimony in *ibid.*, pp. 107-108.

42. See Likhutin's account of the affair in Bazilevsky, *Gosudarstvennyia prestupleniia*, pp. 385-86; and in Koz'min, *Nechaev i nechaevtsy*, pp. 130-32.

43. Vera Zasulich mentions this episode (*Vospominaniia*, p. 50). It is discussed by Ulam (*In the Name of the People*, p. 192).

44. Confino, *Daughter of a Revolutionary*, p. 314. Pryzhov gave various reasons for Nechaev's decision to murder Ivanov, but during his testimony of February 26, 1870, he also suggested that the murder was occasioned by Ivanov's refusal to turn over funds to Nechaev. See Koz'min, *Nechaev i nechaevtsy*, p. 103.

45. The fullest and most consecutive account of the murder is contained in the transcript of Nechaev's trial. See Bazilevsky, *Gosudarstvennyia prestupleniia*, pp. 415-52. See also Ulam, *In the Name of the People*, pp. 192-94.

46. It appears that Ivanov was told that the printing press had been buried at the time of Karakozov's trial. See Koz'min, *Nechaev i nechaevtsy*, p. 15.

47. Vera Zasulich, *Vospominaniia*, p. 54.

48. For these figures and a circumstantial account of the development of the investigation, see the initial report of the minister of justice, delivered at the trial of Nechaev's associates. Koz'min, *Nechaev i nechaevtsy*, pp. 10-14.

49. The none-too-substantial evidence about radical opposition to Nechaev has been assembled by Koz'min. See "Nechaev i ego protivniki."

50. Koz'min, *Nechaev i nechaevtsy*, pp. 137-40.

51. Koz'min, "Nechaev i ego protivniki," pp. 187-88.

52. Koz'min, *Nechaev i nechaevtsy*, p. 140.

53. Letter quoted in Lehning, *Michel Bakounine*, p. xxiv.

54. On the proclamations of this period, see Lehning, *Michel Bakounine*, pp. xxix-xxviii and *passim*.

55. The attacks of the Marxists provoked angry rejoinders not only from Bakunin and his adherents but also from Kaspar Turski and other Jacobin supporters of Nechaev, who were soon to group themselves around Tkachëv's *Tocsin*. See Rolf Theen, "The Russian Blanquists and the Hague Congress," *Canadian Slavic Studies* 3:2 (Summer 1969), pp. 347-76.

56. There is a facsimile edition in Lehning, *Michel Bakounine*, pp. 415-32.
57. Marx called the piece "an excellent example of barracks communism." Quoted in Avrahm Yarmolinsky, *Road to Revolution* (New York, 1962), p. 162.
58. Confino, *Daughter of a Revolutionary*, pp. 19-20.
59. *Ibid.*, p. 297.
60. *Ibid.*, p. 295.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 297.
62. *Ibid.*, p. 307.
63. Lehning, *Michel Bakounine*, p. 442.
64. *Ibid.*, p. 365.
65. For an interesting compendium of government documents, including Third Section reports, reflecting some official reaction to the trial, see Part IV of Koz'min's *Nechaev i nechaevtsy*, especially pp. 158-88.
66. See Ralli's memoirs, reproduced in Lehning, *Michel Bakounine*. The quotation is on p. 377.
67. Dmitriy Richter, "L'arrestation de S. G. Nečaev à Zurich," in Lehning, *Michel Bakounine*, pp. 386-88. See also Woodford McClellan, "Nechaevshchina: An Unknown Chapter," *Slavic Review* 32:3 (September 1973), pp. 546-53.
68. Vera Figner, *Vospominaniia*, Vol. I (Moscow, 1964), pp. 250-58.
69. *Ibid.*, p. 258.
70. Fyodor Dostoevsky, *The Notebooks for The Possessed* (Chicago and London, 1968), p. 349.
71. Albert Camus, *The Rebel* (New York, 1956), especially pp. 160-64.
72. See her *Vospominaniia*, p. 57.
73. As, for instance, A. Gambarov, *V sporakh o Nechaeve* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1926).
74. Angelica Balabanoff, *Impressions of Lenin* (Ann Arbor, 1968), p. 7. See also her penetrating remarks on Trotsky, as well as his too-little-known *Their Morals and Ours* (New York, 1939).
75. Isaac Deutscher, *The Prophet Armed* (Oxford, 1954), p. 95.
76. Leopold Haimson, "The Parties and the State: The Evolution of Political Attitudes," in Michael Cherniavsky, ed., *The Structure of Russian History* (New York, 1970), p. 317.
77. S. Frederick Starr, *Decentralization and Self-Government in Russia, 1830-1870* (Princeton, 1972), *passim*.
78. Balabanoff, *Impressions of Lenin*, p. 105.

(Continued from front flap)

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JOYCE RAVID

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